

Supplemental Expert Report Submitted on Behalf of Plaintiffs

in *Soto Palmer, et al. v. Hobbs, et al.*

Kassra AR Oskooii, Ph.D.

University of Delaware

March 1, 2024

I. Background and Qualifications

1. I, Kassra AR Oskooii, am over 18 years of age and am competent to testify.
2. My background and qualifications are set forth in my expert report dated and submitted on December 1, 2023. I also attach here my latest curriculum vitae as Exhibit 1.
3. I have reviewed the declaration of Nicholas Pharris from the Secretary of State's office, Document 270. I appreciate Mr. Pharris's standard review for trapped polygons in Map 3A.¹ The tweaks he proposes are valid, and I am happy to assist in incorporating these and any other necessary changes in a new version of Map 3A if the court wishes.
4. I have also reviewed Dr. Trende's supplemental report and map, Document 273. My understanding is that remedial proposals were due on December 1, but I did not receive Dr. Trende's map until late in the evening of Friday, February 23.
5. I have also reviewed the Intervenor's supplemental filing regarding Yakama Nation lands, Document 267; the Yakama Nation's own filed statement on February 23, Document 272; and the email and letter from counsel for the Yakama Nation to the Attorney General's office, which is attached to this report as Exhibit 2.
6. I offer the following responses.

II. Dr. Trende's Map Cracks Communities of Interest in the Yakima Valley

7. Dr. Trende claims that his proposed map addresses the concerns of the Yakama Nation while creating a district (in his map, LD 15) that provides Hispanic voters an opportunity to elect candidates of their choice.

¹ As Mr. Pharris explains, trapped polygons refer to small areas of land caught between county boundaries, congressional districts, legislative districts, county council or commissioner districts, and city or town limits. Trapped polygons also arise in part from the fact that Washington's 2022 precinct shapefiles do not always precisely line up with census block lines, which are the smallest geographic unit that can be used for drawing district lines.

8. With respect to the latter claim, it is unclear how Dr. Trende's Map could remedy the VRA violation with respect to Latinos in the Yakima Valley because the map still cracks the population along the Yakima-Pasco highway corridor that the court identified as a community of interest—the very same community the Enacted Plan cracked and diluted in violation of Section 2.
9. Like LD 15 in the Enacted Map, LD 15 in Dr. Trende's Map continues to segregate communities like Wapato and Toppenish from other similar communities in the Lower Yakima Valley along the route from East Yakima to Pasco.
10. Consequently, Dr. Trende's LD 15 also excludes two of the plaintiffs. I was provided the plaintiffs' addresses, which were stipulated to by all parties.² Plaintiff Faviola Lopez lives in Wapato, and Plaintiff Caty Padilla lives in Toppenish. Both are excluded from Dr. Trende's LD 15.
11. Map 3A, on the other hand, unites Wapato and Toppenish with alike communities in Lower Yakima Valley, as well as East Yakima and Pasco, and includes all five Plaintiffs in the remedial district.
12. Beyond cracking this community of interest in the Yakima Valley, Dr. Trende's LD 15 also disregards other redistricting criteria. For example, LD 15 straddles the Columbia River without providing a bridge or ferry crossing, violating Washington's contiguity requirement.
13. Dr. Trende's Map also places the Hanford Nuclear Site in the middle of LD 15, creating another barrier between the eastern and western ends of the district, and separating the site from voters in the City of Richland. Map 3A unifies the Hanford Nuclear Site with

² Joint Pretrial Statement and [Proposed] Order, Document 191 at 3-4.

the City of Richland. I understand that Intervenor has previously objected to map proposals that separated the nuclear site from Richland, the community most affected by it, but now propose a map that does just that.³

III. Dr. Trende's Map Splits the Yakama Nation Reservation and Reduces Native American Voting Strength in LD 14

14. Dr. Trende's Map displays a lack of care and attention to the boundaries of the Yakama Nation Reservation and Native American voters.
15. By my count, his LD 14 appears to split the Yakama Nation Reservation at least 14 times along the boundary between LDs 14 and 15 in the Lower Yakima Valley, based on the Census designated Reservation boundary. These splits are not limited to zero-population polygons. As shown in Figure 1, one part of the Reservation that is excluded from Dr. Trende's LD 14 has 117 residents, according to the 2020 Decennial Census. Presumably, this land was excised from the Reservation to avoid splitting the city of Union Gap, but as my Map 3A shows, it is possible to keep Union Gap whole while unifying all residents of the Reservation.

³ Intervenor-Defendants' Proposed Opposition to Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Document 61 at 7-8.

Figure 1 – Illustrative Reservation Land Excluded from Dr. Trende’s LD 14 (Yakama Reservation Boundary in Pink)



16. This same LD 14-LD 15 boundary line in Dr. Trende’s Map also disregards the voting rights violation by splitting the Latino community in the Yakima Valley.
17. Map 3A, on the other hand, balances the need to remedy the cracking of communities of interest in the Enacted Plan with the interests of the Yakama Nation and Native American voters in the region. As I stated above, Map 3A unifies Toppenish and Wapato with other similar communities in the Lower Yakima Valley, as well as East Yakima and Pasco, all of which comprise a community of interest identified by the court.
18. Because Toppenish and Wapato also exist within the boundaries of the Yakama Nation Reservation, I drew LD 14 in Map 3A (and in all other remedial proposals) to include the Yakama Nation Reservation.

19. I also included in LD 14 the Off-Reservation Trust Lands designated by the U.S. Census, which Dr. Trende does not dispute.
20. LD 14 in Map 3A also includes 96% of the Public Domain Trust Land parcels identified by the Yakama Nation in its latest February 23 statement.⁴ This is unsurprising because the Public Domain Trust Lands largely overlap with the Off-Reservation Trust Lands designated by the U.S. Census, except for a small handful of additional parcels. Indeed, only 9 of the 235 parcels identified by the Yakama Nation on February 23 are not included in LD 14.⁵
21. Moreover, LD 14 in Map 3A includes 13 (93%) of the Yakama Nation's 14 Treaty Fishing Access Sites identified in its February 23 statement.⁶ The single exception is the White Salmon site, which was not included to ensure that LD 14's population deviation remains within the most and least populous legislative districts in the Enacted Map.
22. Dr. Trende mentions three other areas in the "region south of the Yakama Reservation" that he claims were "all ... excluded from Remedial Map 3A, District 14" (p. 4). First, the part of Klickitat County containing Husum, like the White Salmon fishing access site, was not incorporated for population parity purposes. Second, while a portion of the Klickitat River watershed is located in LD 17, the majority of that watershed basin is

⁴ The Nation identified a total of 235 Public Domain Trust Land parcels, which are listed in a table in Exhibit A of its February 23 statement, Document 272 at 5-12. For each parcel (except for one), the Yakama Nation provided latitude-longitude coordinates and acreage, among other information. I used this information, alongside the Yakama Nation's map, to determine which parcels were and were not included in Map 3A's LD 14. There was only one parcel, identified as MV-171, that lacked latitude and longitude coordinates, so I cannot confirm whether this parcel was included in LD 14.

⁵ Three of these parcels are located near the boundary of Map 3A's LD 14 and could easily be added to LD 14. These parcels are identified by the Yakama Nation as MV-72, 1026, and 1025.

⁶ Document 272 at 13.

included in LD 14 in Map 3A.⁷ Third, the Yakima River watershed, which Dr. Trende also mentions, does not extend south of the Reservation, and Map 3A includes all of the Yakima River basin in LD 14 that intersects with the Reservation, as well as areas of the basin that are excluded from Dr. Trende's LD 14.⁸

23. In short, Map 3A includes as much Yakama Nation territory and historical land in LD 14 as is practical while ensuring that the remedial district does not perpetuate the harm of cracking other communities of interest in the Yakima Valley.
24. Importantly, Map 3A also best addresses the Yakama Nation's wish to avoid "dilut[ion] of the Yakama voting population within the 14th Legislative District."⁹ Table 1 below compares the Native American voting age population in LD 14 across the Enacted Map, Plaintiffs' Map 3A, and Dr. Trende's Map.

Table 1 – Native American Voting Age Population (VAP), 2020 Decennial Census

	Enacted Map	Pls. Map 3A	Dr. Trende's Map
Native American VAP	9,907	9,950	9,636
% of LD 14 VAP	8.5%	9.3%	8.1%

25. Table 1 shows that Plaintiffs' Proposed LD 14 includes *more* Native American voters and a *higher proportion* of Native American voters than both the Enacted Map and Dr. Trende's Map, best according with the request of the Yakama Nation that the legislative

⁷ Yakima Klickitat Fisheries Project, Map of Klickitat River Subbasin, http://www.ykfp.org/klickitat/klicksb_map.htm.

⁸ Washington State Department of Ecology, The Yakima Basin Integrated Water Resource Management Plan, <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/d78e5021c3554fb8a1af1c5020b8d741>.

⁹ Dec. 22 Letter of Gerald Lewis, Document 267-1 at 2.

map not splinter Native American communities of interest. Meanwhile, Dr. Trende's Map *reduces* the Native American voting age population and voting strength in LD 14 as compared to the Enacted Plan.

26. Finally, Dr. Trende's Figure 1 (p. 5) highlights in red the area of Klickitat County he claims should have been included in LD 14 in Map 3A. In his February 15th disclosure, he reported the total population of this red-shaded area as 15,760, but he neglected to disclose other relevant demographic figures. The total Native American population of the area is 662 (4.2% of the total population), and the Native American voting age population is 498 (3.9% of the voting age population). Meanwhile, the white population of the area is 12,207 (77.5%), and the white voting age population is 10,054 (79.4%). As I have noted previously, I did not review or consider any racial demographic data before or while drawing any of Plaintiffs' Remedial Maps. I checked the demographic information here only after receiving Dr. Trende's supplemental report and map proposal.

IV. Map 3A Has Minimal Impact on Surrounding Districts

25. Dr. Trende repeats his claim that Map 3A disrupts too many districts around LDs 14 and 15 by pointing to the existence of his new proposal and my other remedial proposals that affect fewer districts. As I explain above, his proposal looks much like the Enacted Plan that the court struck down and continues to crack the community of interest in the Yakima Valley. With respect to my remedial proposals, as explained in my prior reports, I provided the Court with multiple options, all of which had core retention rates between 94.1% and 97.5%. Map 3A has a core retention rate of 94.5% and balances Washington

and traditional redistricting criteria, including unification of Yakama lands and voters, with the need to remedy the VRA violation.

26. Dr. Trende concedes that core retention percentages are a “valid way to describe a map’s shifts.”¹⁰ He goes on to state that there is some need to “place these percentages in context,” but then simply restates the percentages as ratios. No matter how one chooses to describe a core retention rate of 94.5%, it still indicates minimal changes to the Enacted Plan.
27. Core retention percentages also inherently provide the context Dr. Trende’s own measures of “movement” cannot provide. This is for the simple fact that core retention rates, unlike population totals, account for the magnitude of population shifts compared to the total population of each district.
28. As I explained in my January 5 report, Dr. Trende’s method of totaling the people “moved” between districts is inaccurate. He states that 94,742 people from LD 15 in the Enacted Plan (where they comprised 60% of that district) were moved to LD 14 in Map 3A (where they still comprise 60% of the district). The use of the word “move” is misleading because these voters remain, as a group, the supermajority of their legislative district. The only difference is the number assigned to their district. Although that alters the election cycle in which they vote for state senate, it does not separate this group of voters into different districts from one another. This is why redistricting experts use the concept of “core retention”—which Dr. Trende resists—because it focuses on the relevant question of how many voters remain together in a district, whatever the district is labeled.

¹⁰ Supplemental Report of Dr. Trende, at 12, n.4.

V. Map 3A is Reasonably Compact

29. With respect to compactness, Dr. Trende quibbles with my use of planwide compactness measures but does not dispute my conclusion that Map 3A has reasonably compact districts, largely on par with the Enacted Plan.
30. Table 2 provides the Reock and Polsby-Popper compactness scores for Map 3A, Dr. Trende’s Map, and the Enacted Map. Remedial Map 3A is slightly more compact than Dr. Trende’s Map as measured by the Reock score.

Table 2 – Compactness Scores

	Enacted Map	Remedial Map 3A	Dr. Trende’s Map
Reock	0.44	0.43	0.40
Polsby-Popper	0.33	0.32	0.32

VI. Map 3A Has No Meaningful Political Impact on Surrounding Districts

31. As demonstrated in Appendix Table 4 of my January 5th report (p. 42), Map 3A has no substantive impact on partisan outcomes in districts beyond LDs 14 and 15. Republican districts remain Republican, Democratic districts remain Democratic, and toss-ups remain toss-ups.¹¹
32. Dr. Trende also effectively concedes that the shifts in political makeup are minor. In his discussion of statewide partisan bias metrics, he states: “These metrics will generally not

¹¹ Dr. Trende’s quibble with my use of terms misses the point. He cannot identify any surrounding districts in Map 3A that would definitively flip in partisan control. And to the extent his complaint is that Map 3A incidentally makes some districts slightly more competitive, my understanding is that Washington’s redistricting criteria require plans to “encourage electoral competition.” RCW 44.05.090. It also bears mention that, unlike Dr. Trende, I did not view political data when drawing remedial maps, given that Washington law forbids drawing redistricting plans “purposely to favor or discriminate against any political party.” RCW 44.05.090.

change much unless a district is outright flipped from Democrat to Republican or vice-versa.” He also notes that making an already competitive district, like LD 12, marginally more competitive will not change partisan statewide metrics. This is all true and only serves to confirm that Map 3A does not meaningfully change partisan outcomes in surrounding districts.

VII. Map 3A Has Minimal Impact on Incumbents

27. As I explained in my January 5 Report, the displacement of the incumbents in LD 14 and the Senator from LD 15¹² is a byproduct of relying on the applicable redistricting criteria to draw an LD 14 that unites the population centers forming a community of interest between East Yakima and Pasco, while keeping the Yakama Nation Reservation and Off-Reservation Trust Lands within LD 14.
28. To reiterate, I avoided displacing incumbents wherever possible and remedied most incumbent displacements in the “A” Maps filed with the January 5 Report. Aside from the incumbents in LDs 14 and 15, the only other incumbent displaced in Map 3A is Senator Hawkins, the current LD 12 incumbent who is in LD 7 in Map 3A. As I explained in my January 5 Report, the changes necessary for Senator Hawkins to reside in LD 12 are reflected in Maps 2A, 4A, and 5A but not in 3A, which prioritizes other considerations such as limiting the number of trans-cascade districts. Document 254-1, ¶ 101.

VIII. Conclusion

33. I reserve the right to modify, update, or supplement my report as additional information is made available to me.

¹² Neither of the two incumbent LD 15 House members are displaced in Map 3A.

34. Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Kassra AR Oskooii, declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed by:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Dr. Oskooii", written in a cursive style.

Dr. Kassra AR Oskooii

Dated: March 1, 2024

Exhibit 1

Kassra A.R. Oskooii

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Academic Appointments	University of Delaware Political Science & International Relations Associate Professor 2021-Present Assistant Professor 2016-2021 Provost Teaching Fellow 2022-Present <i>Current Faculty Affiliations:</i> Data Science Institute (DSI) 2023-Present Master of Science in Data Science (MSDS) 2023-Present Center for Political Communication (CPC) 2016-Present Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD) 2016-Present <i>Former Faculty Affiliations:</i> Race, Justice, Policy Research Initiative (RJPRI) 2017-2023	
Education	University of Washington Ph.D., 2016 Department of Political Science General Fields: American Politics & Political Methodology Specialized Field: Minority and Race Politics University of Washington M.A., 2013 Department of Political Science Center for Statistics & the Social Sciences (CSSS) Political Methodology Field Certificate (2013) University of Washington B.A., 2008 Major: Political Science Minors: Human Rights and Law, Societies, & Justice	
Peer-Reviewed Journal Publications	“Anti-Muslim Policy Preferences and Boundaries of American Identity Across Partisanship.” <i>Journal of Public Policy</i> . w/ Lajevardi, N. (Forthcoming) “In the Shadow of September 11: The Roots and Ramifications of Anti-Muslim Attitudes in the United States.” <i>Advances in Political Psychology</i> . w/ Lajevardi, N., Saleem, M., and Docherty, M. (Forthcoming)	

- “Social Mobility Through Immigrant Resentment: Explaining Latinx Support for Restrictive Immigration Policies and Anti-Immigrant Candidates.” *Public Opinion Quarterly*. w/ Hickel, F., and Collingwood, L. (Forthcoming)
- “The Participatory Implications of Racialized Policy Feedback.” 2023. *Perspectives on Politics*, 21(3): 932-950. w/ Garcia-Rios, S., Lajevardi, N. and Walker, H.
- “Undermining Sanctuary? When Local and National Partisan Cues Diverge.” 2023. *Urban Affairs Review*, 59(1): 133-169. w/ Collingwood, L. & Martinez, G.
- “Fight Not Flight: The Effects of Explicit Racism on Minority Political Engagement.” 2022. *Electoral Studies*, 80: 102515. w/ Besco, R., Garcia-Rios, S., Lagodny, J., Lajevardi, N., Tolley, E.
- “Hate, Amplified? Social Media News Consumption and Anti-Muslim Policy Support.” 2022. *Journal of Public Policy*, 42: 656-683. w/ Lajevardi, N. and Walker, H. (FirstView)
- “Estimating Candidate Support in Voting Rights Act Cases: Comparing Iterative EI and EI-RxC Methods.” 2022. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 51(1): 271-304. w/ Barreto, M., Collingwood & Garcia-Rios, S.
- “Beyond Generalized Ethnocentrism: Islam-Specific Beliefs and Prejudice toward Muslim Americans.” 2021. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 9(3): 538-565. w/ Dana, K. & Barreto, M.
- “Opinion Shift and Stability: The Information Environment and Long-Lasting Opposition to Trump’s Muslim Ban.” 2021. *Political Behavior*, 43: 301–337. w/Lajevardi, N. & Collingwood, L.
Covered in: *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage)
- “The Role of Identity Prioritization: Why Some Latinx Support Restrictionist Immigration Policies and Candidates.” 2020. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 84: 860–891. w/ Hickel, F., Alamillo, R. & Collingwood, L.
- “Perceived Discrimination and Political Behavior.” 2020. *British Journal of Political Science*, 50(3): 867-892.
- “The Paradox Between Integration and Perceived Discrimination Among American Muslims.” 2020. *Political Psychology*, 41(3): 587-606. w/ Lajevardi, N., Walker, H. & Westfall, A.
Winner of the 2019 American Political Science Association Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Section Best Paper Award.

“Veiled Politics: Experiences with Discrimination among Muslim Americans.” 2019. **Politics and Religion**, 12(2): 629-677. w/ Dana, K., Lajevardi, N., & Walker, H.

“Partisan Attitudes toward Sanctuary Cities: The Asymmetrical Effects of Political Knowledge.” 2018. **Politics and Policy**, 46 (6): 951-984. w/ Dreier, S. & Collingwood, L.

“A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted against Trump’s Muslim Ban.” 2018. **Political Behavior**, 40: 1035-1072. w/ Collingwood, L. & Lajevardi, N.

Covered in: *The Washington Post (Monkey Cage)*, *Vox*, *ThinkProgress*, *NPR*, *Al Jazeera*, *Middle East Eye*, *Psychology Today*, & *Social Psych Online*

“Old-Fashioned Racism, Contemporary Islamophobia, and the Political Isolation of Muslim Americans in the Age of Trump.” 2018. **Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics**, 3(1): 112-152. w/ Lajevardi, N.

“The Politics of Choice Reconsidered: Partisanship, Ideology, and Minority Politics in Washington’s Charter School Initiative.” 2018. **State Politics and Policy Quarterly**, 18(1): 61-92. w/ Collingwood, L. & Jochim, A.

“Muslims in Great Britain: The Impact of Mosque Attendance on Political Behaviour and Civic Engagement.” 2018. **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**, 44(9): 1479-1505. w/ Dana, K.

“eiCompare: Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EI: RxC.” 2016. **R Journal**, 8(2): 92-101. w/ Collingwood, L., Barreto, M. & Garcia-Rios, S.

“How Discrimination Impacts Sociopolitical Behavior: A Multidimensional Perspective.” 2016. **Political Psychology**, 37(5): 613-640.

“Mosques as American Institutions: Mosque Attendance, Religiosity and Integration into the Political System among American Muslims.” 2011. **Religions**, 2(4): 504-524. w/ Dana, K. & Barreto, M.

Book Chapters/
Encyclopedic
Entries

“Discrimination.” In **Edward Elgar Encyclopedia of Political Sociology** edited by Maria Grasso and Marco Giugni. (Forthcoming)

“Race and Racism in U.S. Campaigns.” 2020. In **Oxford Handbook on Electoral Persuasion** edited by Liz Suhay, Bernie Grofman, and Alex Trechsel, 15:278–295. w/ Christopher Parker, Christopher Towler, and Loren Collingwood.

Book Reviews	<p>"Understanding Muslim Political Life in America: Contested Citizenship in the Twenty-First Century." Edited by Brian R. Calafano and Nazita Lajevardi. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2019. 248p. Perspectives on Politics.</p>	
Public Writing	<p>"Biden reverses Trump's 'Muslim Ban.' Americans support the decision." The Washington Post (Monkey Cage) (27 January, 2021). w/ Lajevardi, N. and Collingwood, L.</p> <p>"Targeted: Veiled Women Experience Significantly More Discrimination in the U.S." Religion in Public (21 January, 2020). w/ Dana, K., Lajevardi, N., and Walker, H.</p> <p>"Here's what the Democrats need to do to get the DREAM Act through Congress." LSE American Politics and Policy Blog (29 January, 2018). Also covered by Newsweek U.S. Edition. w/ Walker, H. and Garcia-Rios, S.</p> <p>"Why Individual-Level Opinion Rapidly Shifted Against Trump's 'Muslim Ban' Executive Order." Religion in Public (17 January, 2018). w/ Collingwood, L. and Lajevardi, N.</p> <p>"Allies in name only? Latino-only leadership on DACA may trigger implicit racial biases among White liberals." LSE American Politics and Policy Blog (28 September, 2017). w/ Garcia-Rios, S. and Walker, H.</p> <p>"Protests against Trump's immigration executive order may have helped shift public opinion against it" LSE American Politics and Policy Blog (12 February, 2017). w/ Collingwood, L. and Lajevardi, N.</p>	
Grants, Fellowships, & Awards	<p>Nominee of UD's Excellence in Teaching Award (2023)</p> <p>UD Provost Teaching Fellow (2022-)</p> <p>APSA Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Best Paper Award (2019)</p> <p>w/ N. Lajevardi, H. Walker and A. Westfall</p> <p>AAPOR Student-Faculty Diversity Pipeline Award (2019)</p> <p>CTAL Instructional Improvement Grant: Engaging Diversity in Political Science w/ Kara Ellerby (\$11,000) (2018)</p> <p>POSCIR Seed Research Grant (\$1,500) (2018)</p> <p>DEL General University Research Grant (\$7,500) (2017)</p> <p>UW Political Science Research Fellowship (est. \$13,000) (2016)</p> <p>Dissertation Improvement Research Grant, UCLA (\$3000) (2015)</p> <p>Dean Recognition for Exceptional Pedagogical Contribution, UW (2014)</p> <p>Best Graduate Paper in PoliSci (w/Hannah Walker), UW (2014)</p> <p>UW Center for Democracy & VRA Research Fellowship (\$5,000) (2014)</p> <p>UW Center for Democracy & VRA Research Fellowship (\$5,000) (2013)</p> <p>Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences Grant (\$1,000) (2013)</p> <p>UW WISER Research Grant (\$2500) (2011-14)</p> <p>UW WISER Survey Research Fellowship (\$20,000) (2011-14)</p> <p>Grad. Opportunities & Minority Achievement Fellowship (\$4,000) (2010-11)</p>	

Donald R. Matthews Graduate Fellowship (\$40,000) (2010-11)
 Jody Deering Nyquist Award for Excellence in Public Speaking (2008)

Research Race, Justice, Policy Research Initiative, UD (2017 -)
 Center Center for Political Communication, UD (2016 -)
 Affiliations Center for the Study of Diversity, UD (2016 -)
 UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights Research (2013-14)
 Washington Institute for the Study of Race & Ethnicity (WISER) (2010-16)
 Center for Social Science and Statistics (CSSS) (2010-16)
 Washington Survey Research Center (WASRC) (2010-15)

Teaching **University of Delaware** (2016 -)
 Experience POSC 150: Intro to American Politics (x10)
 POSC 230: Intro to Politics and Social Justice (x2)
 POSC 413: Minority Politics, Representation, and Voting Rights (x4)
 POSC 867: Race, Ethnicity, and Politics (Graduate Seminar) (x3)
 POSC 807: American Political Behavior (Graduate Seminar) (x1)

University of Washington (2011-2016)
 POLS 202: Intro to American Politics (x2)
 POLS 357: Minority Representation and the Voting Rights Act (x1)
 POLS 205: Political Science as a Social Science (TA)
 POLS 317: US Race and Ethnic Politics (TA)
 POLS 353: US Congress (TA)
 POLS 503: Advanced Research Design and Analysis (TA)
 LAW E 558: Voting Rights Research and the Law (TA)

External Invited "Diversity and the State of Democratic Citizenship." Featured invited roundtable
 Talks/Panels sponsored by the **Center for the Study of Democratic Citizenship**. April 23, 2021.

"Shocks to the System: Capturing Opinion Shift and Stability Toward Trump's Muslim Ban." Keynote Speaker at the Democracy and Diversity Triannual Conference at the **Center for the Study of Democratic Citizenship** in Montreal, Canada. April 24-25, 2020. [Cancelled Due to COVID-19]

"The New American Electorate." Panelist. **Princeton University**. Event sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics. April 3, 2020. [Cancelled Due to COVID-19]

"Neighboring Identities: Psychological and Political Reactions to Generalized and Particularized Anti-Immigrant Appeals." w/Sergio Garcia-Rios. **University of Toronto**. Talk Sponsored by the Department of Political Science. March

6, 2020.

"History, Institutions, and Theory Research Coordination Network on Racial and Ethnic Politics." Panelist. **University of Pennsylvania**. Event sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Special Projects Fund and the Center for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Immigration at Penn. February 28-29, 2020.

"Using Observational and Experimental Data to Examine the Sociopolitical Consequences of Perceived Discrimination." **Rutgers University**. Talk sponsored by the Emerging Trends Lecture Series & the Center for the Experimental Study of Politics and Psychology. April 27, 2018.

"A Change of Heart? Using Panel Designs to Establish Causality with Real Events." w/Loren Collingwood. **Princeton University**. Talk sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics. April 26, 2018.

"Using Observational and Experimental Data to Examine the Sociopolitical Consequences of Perceived Discrimination." **University of California Los Angeles**. Talk sponsored by the Race, Ethnicity and Politics Workshop. March 5, 2018.

"Muslim-American Attitudes, Sociopolitical Behavior, and Identity." Panelist/Section Presenter. **University of California Los Angeles**. Event sponsored by the Luskin School of Public Affairs & the National Science Foundation. December 15, 2017.

"Muslim-American Political Behavior." Panelist/Section Presenter. **Menlo College**. Event sponsored by Menlo College & the National Science Foundation. December 16, 2016.

Internal or
Public
Invited
Talks/Panels

"How Democratic is the U.S. Constitution, and to What Extent did the Founding Fathers Oppose Majority Rule?" Speaker. University Day Public Lecture. March 18, 2023.

"Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the 2020 Election." Speaker. Panel sponsored by the the University of Delaware POSCIR. December 14, 2020.

"Building Community: Scholarship and Connection among Faculty of Color." Speaker. Panel sponsored by the Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD) at the University of Delaware. February 24, 2020.

"Executive Power and the U.S. Democracy." Talk sponsored by the 2019 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 2, 2019.

“Opinion Shift and Stability: Long-Lasting Opposition toward Trump’s Muslim Ban.” Talk sponsored by the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice Colloquium Speaker Series at the University of Delaware. April 24, 2019.

“Old-Fashioned Racism and the Roots of Contemporary Islamophobia.” Talk sponsored by the Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD) Colloquium Speaker Series at the University of Delaware. December 6, 2018.

“Understanding Executive Power in the United States.” Talk sponsored by the 2018 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 2, 2018.

“The Inclusion and Exclusion of Minority Groups in the United States.” Talk sponsored by the 2017 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 11, 2017.

“Inclusion and Exclusion: Perceptions of Discrimination in the Workplace.” Diversity Summit Presenter. Talk sponsored by the Office of Equity and Inclusion at the University of Delaware. June 20, 2017.

“What Happens Now Part II? A Forum to Discuss Bigotry & Closed Borders in the Trump Era.” Speaker. Panel sponsored by the Department of Women and Gender Studies, Sociology and Criminal Justice, Political Science and International Relations, & the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Delaware. February 13, 2017.

“Forum on the Travel Ban Executive Order.” Speaker. Panel sponsored by the University of Delaware Provost Office. February 7, 2017.

“What Happens Now Part I? Fear, Diversity, and Inclusion in Post-U.S. Election.” Speaker. Panel sponsored by Women and Gender Studies, Sociology and Criminal Justice, Political Science and International Relations, History, & the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Delaware. November 30, 2016.

“Race, Religion, and Gender.” Election Central Panelist. Event sponsored by the Center for Political Communication at the University of Delaware. November 8, 2016.

Select
Conference
Presentations

2021

“Partisan Winners and Losers: Testing Alternative Frames of Congressional Election Results Among White and Latino Voters.” Online Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA).

“Kissing Up and Kicking Down: How Immigrant Resentment Impacts Latinx

Support for Donald Trump and Restrictive Immigration Policies.” Online Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA).

“How do Political Attacks Affect Racial and Ethnic Self-Identities?” Online Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA).

“Kissing Up and Kicking Down: How Immigrant Resentment Impacts Latinx Support for Donald Trump and Restrictive Immigration Policies.” Online Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA).

2019

“The Significance of Politicized Group Identities: Re-examining the Relationship between Contact with Punitive Political Institutions and Political Participation.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

“Threat or Reassurance? Framing Midterm results among Latinos and Whites.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

“When American Identity Trumps Latinx Identity: Explaining Support for Restrictive Immigration Policies.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

“Anti-Minority Politics and Political Participation: Evidence from Four Countries.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

2018

“Assessing the Link between Interactions with Punitive Political Institutions and Political Behavior.” Paper Presentation at the 2018 Symposium on the Politics of Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity (SPIRE) Meeting in Philadelphia, PA (University of Pennsylvania).

“Are Integrated Muslim Americans More Likely to Perceive Discrimination?” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Boston, MA.

“Opinion Shift and Stability: Enduring Individual-Level Opposition to Trump’s Muslim Ban.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Boston, MA.

“Assessing the Link between Interactions with Punitive Political Institutions

and Political Behavior.” Paper Presentation at the 2018 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Study (CMPS) Meeting in Los Angeles, CA (UCLA).

2017

“A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted against Trump’s Muslim Ban.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in San Francisco, CA.

“Veiled Politics: Experiences with Discrimination among American Muslims.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in San Francisco, CA.

“The Racial Shield as Racism Exoneration: Explaining White Racist Support for Conservative Minority Candidates.” Paper Presentation at the Annual Western Political Science Association Conference (WPSA) in Vancouver BC, Canada.

2016

“Assessing the Mechanism Linking Discrimination to Democratic Engagement.” Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Philadelphia, PA.

“Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing EI and EI-RxC.” Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA) in Chicago, Illinois.

**Student
Supervision**

Sadie Ellington, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Enes Aksu, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Enes Tuzgen, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Olga Gerasimenko, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Furkan Karakayan, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Richard Takyi Amoah, Dissertation Committee Member (ECON)
Sheila Afrakomah, Dissertation Committee Member (ECON)
Ahmet Ates, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC)
Charles Mays, Long Paper and Dissertation Chair (POSC)
Ian Mumma, Long Paper Committee Member (POSC)
Clark Shanahan, Long Paper Committee Member (POSC)

Rachel Spruill, Undergraduate Honors Thesis Chair
Jessica Sack, Undergraduate Honors Thesis Chair
Jordan Spencer, Undergraduate Faculty Mentor for the McNair Program
Lauren Trenchalk, Undergraduate Research Supervisor

**Professional
Service**

Editorial Board Member

Politics and Religion (6/2018 - 12/2021)

Discipline Service

American Political Science Association (APSA) REP Section Chair (2021-2022)

Western Political Science Association (WPSA) Task Force on Equity, Inclusion, and Access in the Discipline (2020-2021)

APSA Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Best Paper Award Committee Member (2020)

University Service

2019 Summer Educational and Cultural Experience Program (SECEP)
Lecturer of Politics and Justice in the United States. (July 27 - August 20, 2019)

Manuscript Reviewer/Referee

American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Politics Research, British Journal of Political Science, Belgian Federal office for Science Policy, Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, Cambridge University Press, Electoral Studies, European Political Science Review, International Journal of Public Opinion, Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Journal of Public Policy, Journal of Politics, Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics, Migration Studies, Perspectives on Politics, Political Behavior, Politics, Groups, and Identities, Political Psychology, Political Research Quarterly, Politics and Religion, Public Opinion Quarterly, Social Science Quarterly, Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences

Conference Coordination

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC) at the University of Delaware. (2020)

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC) at the University of Washington. (2013)

Latinos and the Voting Rights Act. Center for Democracy and Voting Rights Research at the University of Washington Law School. (2013)

Islam in the Public Sphere Conference. Washington Institute for the Study of Race & Ethnicity (WISER). (2011)

Select Expert
Consulting
Experience

State of Maryland Attorney General's Office; 2021 MD Redistricting

Baltimore County Branch of the NAACP v. Baltimore County, Maryland, No. 1:21-cv-03232-LKG (D. Md. 2022)

Common Cause Florida v. Lee, 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF (N.D. Fla.)

Common Cause Florida v. Byrd, No. 4:22-cv-00109-AW-MAF (N.D. Fla. 2022) [Deposed]

Dickinson Bay Area NAACP Branch v. Galveston County, Texas, No. 3:22-cv-117-JVB (S.D. Tex. 2023) [Deposed & Testified]

Reyes v. Chilton, 4:21-cv-05075-MKD (E.D. Wash. 2021) [Deposed]

Roswell Independent School District (RISD); 2022 Redistricting

Caroline County Branch of the NAACP v. Town of Federalsburg, Civ. Action No. 23-SAG-00484 (D.Md. 2023)

Cobb County Board of Elections and Registration, No. 1:22-cv-02300-ELR (N.D. Ga. 2022)

Coca v. City of Dodge City, et al. Case no. 6:22-cv-01274 (D Kan. 2022) [Deposed & Testified]

Soto Palmer v. Hobbs, No. 3:22-cv-05035-RSL (W. D. Wash. 2021)

Previous Research Positions	Senior Researcher, Washington Poll	2010-2014
	<i>Public Opinion Survey Design, Programming, and Analysis.</i>	
	Researcher, Center for Democracy & Voting Rights Research	2013-2014
	<i>Racially Polarized Voting (RPV) Analysis of jurisdictions in states such as: California, Florida, Texas, and Washington.</i>	
	Investigator, Washington State Charter School Initiative	2013
	<i>Precinct and school district level data collection and analysis of the I-1240 Vote for S360 Polling Firm and Melinda & Gates Foundation.</i>	

Skills &
Additional
Information

Software: R, STATA, \LaTeX , ESRI, DRA

Languages: Farsi (Persian)–Native Speaker

R Packages: eiCompare (contributor), eiExpand (contributor)

Exhibit 2

From: [Anthony Aronica](#)
To: [Washines, Asa K. \(ATG\)](#)
Cc: [Jeremy Takala](#); [Deland Olney](#); [Ruth Jim](#); [Terry Goudy-Rambler](#); [Gerald Lewis](#); [George Meninick](#); [Ethan Jones](#); [Dawn Vyvyan](#); [Willow Howard](#)
Subject: Re: Soto Palmer - proposed remedial redistricting maps
Date: Friday, December 29, 2023 12:15:31 PM
Attachments: [Letter_YN_AGO_Redistricting \(12.29.23\).pdf](#)
[WA_Map4.pdf](#)
[WA_Map3.pdf](#)

[EXTERNAL]

Dear Asa,

Attached is the Chairman's response to the AG's Office regarding your request for comment on the proposed remedial maps. Out of those proposed, maps 3 and 4 most closely resemble the current 14th Legislative District that the Yakama Nation consulted in advocacy for and include the most off-Reservation trust allotments.

Regards,
Tony

On Mon, Dec 18, 2023 at 3:23 PM Anthony Aronica <anthony@yakamanation-olc.org> wrote:

Dear Asa,

The referenced legal brief and 5 maps did not stay attached in the forward to me. Are you able to resend those?

Thank you,
Tony

On Mon, Dec 11, 2023 at 3:53 PM Ethan Jones <Ethan@yakamanation-olc.org> wrote:

Dear Mr. Washines,

Thank you for reaching out on this important issue, and I understand from your email that the deadline is December 22nd. We will discuss this and get back to you.

Thanks,

Ethan

On Mon, Dec 11, 2023 at 3:49 PM Washines, Asa K. (ATG) <asa.washines@atg.wa.gov> wrote:

Chairman Lewis & Councilman Takala,

Below is the legal brief and 5 redistricting maps proposals from the plaintiffs in the Voting Rights Act case challenging the Legislative District 15.

The plaintiffs say that their proposals 1 and 2 "keep[] the Yakama Nation Reservation intact in

one legislative district,” now renamed LD 14, and contain “some of the Yakama Nation trust lands.” They say that their proposals 3 and 4 “combine[] the Yakama Nation Reservation and all of the Yakama Nation trust lands and fishing villages in LD 14.” Finally, they say that their proposal 5 “includes all of the Yakama Nation Reservation in LD 14 but not the off-reservation trust lands or fishing villages.”

Our expert has not yet independently verified what the Plaintiffs say about inclusion of the Yakama reservation and trust lands. The deadline for the parties to comment on these proposals is December 22. In theory, the Yakama Nation could file an amicus brief before then, or they may be able to file a comment later after the Court appoints a special master to review the proposed maps (but we don’t know yet what that process will look like)

Our office would like to get your thoughts on the proposals.

Let me know if you have any questions.

Asa K. Washines (Yakama)

Tribal Liaison

Office of the Washington State Attorney General

asa.washines@atg.wa.gov

360.878.0664

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Ethan Jones, Lead Attorney

Yakama Nation Office of Legal Counsel
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